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ABSTRACT

The responses of graduate-level humanities departments to the oversupply of Ph.D.s and strategies that have been most effective in placing new Ph.D. graduates were investigated. Based on randomly selecting a representative cross-section of departments, a telephone survey was undertaken with 32 English departments, 32 history departments, and 22 philosophy departments. It was found that most departments have responded to the Ph.D. surplus by limiting enrollments. Over half of the respondents said that the number of graduating doctoral students should be decreased, either by limiting the number of students admitted to study, by eliminating redundant or low-quality programs, or by other approaches. Nearly one-third of the departments have made degree completion more difficult: some by increasing requirements, others by raising graduation standards. An important change in the structure of academic organizations was the revision of faculty personnel policies to create academic openings. However, these responses and changes in faculty personnel policies seemed to be negatively related to graduate placement, whereas changes in academic programs and direct placement activities were more positively related to the placement of recent doctoral graduates. (SW)

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Responses by Humanities Departments to the Oversupply of PhDs

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Abstract

Although 90% of humanities PhDs have traditionally gone into academic positions, colleges and universities have had room for less than half of the doctorates produced in the last 10 years. To determine how humanities departments have responded to these poor employment conditions facing PhDs, a telephone survey was conducted involving representatives from 86 departments of English, history, and philosophy. The results show that the preferred departmental responses are conservative strategies designed to reduce the number of PhD degrees granted. However, these responses and changes in faculty personnel policies seem to be negatively related to graduate placement, whereas changes in academic programs and direct placement activities are more positively related to the placement of recent doctoral graduates.

Responses by Humanities Departments

to the Oversupply of PhDs

In the early 1970s, the academic enterprise belatedly acknowledged that PhD programs had grown far beyond the level necessary to supply new college and university faculty through the rest of the century. Whereas 6,000 doctorates were awarded in 1950, 17,000 were awarded in 1965, and roughly 33,000 were being granted yearly by 1975 (Cartter, 1976, p. 129). Among the major fields of study, the humanities ranked behind only education in percentage growth between 1950 and 1975 (National Research Council, 1981, p. 9). Since the growth of higher education as a whole had begun to plateau by the late 1960s, most humanities departments were left with a serious problem: they could no longer offer viable employment credentials to their doctoral graduates.

Twenty years of explosive growth had left humanities departments in a particularly precarious situation. Ninety percent of humanities PhDs had traditionally gone into academic positions (Solmon, Ochsner, and Hurwicz, 1979, p. 1), but the academic marketplace would have room for only one-tenth to one-third of the PhDs produced in the 1980s (Jacobs, 1977, pp. 1-7). Nor was it possible that very many new academic positions would open since three-fourths of the practicing humanities faculty had tenure (May and Blaney, 1981, p. 26), and less than 40 percent of these faculty were expected to die or retire before the year 2000 (May and Blaney, p. 25).

Employment opportunities outside colleges and universities did not look very promising as an escape valve for the burgeoning surplus. In the first place, doctoral students themselves had tended to be inflexible, uninformed about the academic job market, and lacking in alternative skills (May and Blaney, 1981, p. 50; Roxby, 1976, p. 31, 121; Solmon, et al, 1979, p. 191). Furthermore, nonacademic employers were reluctant to hire humanities PhDs. Many personnel directors from business perceived the PhD to be narrowly qualified or unlikely to be satisfied in the business world (Buchen, 1982, p. 33; Krolic, 1979, p. 62).

In short, the prospects for most humanities departments were rather bleak. Existing faculties worried about severe enrollment declines and declining student quality as the more promising humanists were lured away to more lucrative business or engineering programs. Perhaps even more frightening to some was the danger that the humanities themselves would become corrupted as departments vocationalized their curricula. The situation demanded change.

More than a decade has now passed since the PhD surplus became apparent. In the interim, a full cohort of students has been cycled from the freshman year through the PhD degree. Humanities departments have had ample time to address the surplus. But what, if anything, have they done? Since little research has been conducted on this topic, this study explored two basic questions: (a) what have humanities departments done in response to the

oversupply of PhDs, and (b) what strategies have been most effective in placing new PhD graduates?

Environmental Stress and Change in Organizations

As Martorana and Kuhns have suggested (1975), studies of organizational change should not examine the organization as though it existed in vacuo, but should view the organization in relation to its environment. After all, it may be said that the survival potential of an organization is determined by its compatibility with the external forces affecting it. This organization/environment "fit" becomes the source of synergism between the organization and the other entities in the surrounding ecosystem. Ultimately, it is this fit that determines the effectiveness of the organization in terms of meeting its own goals.

The literature examining this interaction suggests two widely opposing viewpoints seeking to explain why some organizations fare better than others when confronted with environmental stress (Whetten, 1980, p. 370). The first perspective holds that environmental stress hampers the ability of an organization to innovate. The most extreme proponents of this theory contend that organizational change is determined by a process of "natural selection," whereby all organizations are ultimately doomed to an "inexorable and irreversible movement toward the equilibrium of death" (Boulding 1950, p. 38). This point of view holds that organizations are absolutely incapable of strategic adaptation,

that chance alone determines the compatibility of organizations with their environments. Accordingly, less successful organizations are forced to either emulate the better adapted institutions or cease to exist.

Natural selection in higher education has been supported by Rubin (1979), who documented extreme inertia on the part of universities in distress. Rubin found that the five institutions she studied were more than just slow to react: they were degenerating, slipping into mediocrity. They seemed unable to perceive accurately the changes in their environments, and they lacked the organizational integrity to mount a strategic campaign to redeem themselves.

The view that innovation occurs only by chance is opposed by most change theorists, who claim that organizations are capable of adapting strategically to pressures in the environment. Additionally, there is general agreement in the literature regarding possible change alternatives. The literature describes a continuum extending from cutback alternatives (conservative adaptations designed to shrink the organization to position it better in its present environment), to proactive, domain-creating alternatives (strategically changing the basic mission of the organization in order to place it in a different, more hospitable environment). Whetten describes this continuum as a spectrum of responses encompassing negatively valued changes on one end (preventing, defending), and positively valued changes on the other (reacting, generating) (1980, p. 362). Miles and Cameron describe the continuum in terms of its surrounding

environment. They label the points on their continuum "domain defense," "domain offense," and "domain creation" (1982, p. 11). Cyert (1978, pp. 344-49) breaks the continuum in two, contending that institutions under stress may either scale down their operations or find another ecological niche. These two ends of the continuum were mirrored in the debate between Crossland (1980) and Frances (1980) regarding institutional strategies for coping with projected enrollment declines in colleges and universities. According to Crossland, the non-acceptance of the inevitable enrollment drops of the 1980s and 1990s was tantamount to burying one's institutional head, ostrich-like, in the sand. Since the cuts had to come, the best alternatives were those designed to make the decline less painful. Frances called this approach "apocalyptic planning." She argued in her rebuttal that serious decline was only one of the many possible futures for higher education, and that effective strategic planning might save endangered institutions. Thus, according to the literature, organizational administrators may see mandates for change as either conservative, resource allocation problems, or they may see themselves as entrepreneurial risk-takers, willing to change the basic nature of the organization to make it more viable.

The research to date has generally placed changes in higher education on the conservative end of the continuum. According to Meeth, for example, the primary concern in higher education has been how to maintain quality for less money by focusing on efficiency (1974). Breneman (1975) found that fourteen graduate

departments practiced an "enclave strategy" in which they reduced their size and isolated themselves in an effort to increase efficiency in meeting traditional goals. Cameron's extensive study of forty institutions supported the hypothesis that institutions under stress tend to see their condition as a resource allocation problem--a problem of efficiency--and that they tend to respond conservatively (1982). Finally, a study of ten California institutions identified six characteristic responses to stress: (a) pervasive uncertainty, (b) reluctant leaders, (c) erosion of flexibility, (d) faculty attrition as a remedy, (e) classification of responses, and (f) priority needs (procedures and criteria) (Bowen and Glenny, 1981, p. 142). These are decidedly conservative, efficiency-related responses.

Although there are many reasons why universities may react conservatively to stress (Hefferlin, 1969, p. 100; Kaufman, 1980, p. 91; Mangham, 1979, p. 122; Newman, 1973, p. 21; Wamsley, 1970, p. 52), stress may also be an impetus for changes on the other, domain creating end of the continuum. A study by Miller (1977) of academic departments tested Schumpeter's (1949) thesis that economic downturns actually promote change by providing opportunities for innovative entrepreneurs. The theory claims that these entrepreneurs create competitive advantages for their firms by (a) developing and introducing new products, (b) developing new markets, (c) introducing new methods of production, (d) conquering new sources of raw materials, and (e) reorganizing the industry. Miller found that departments under stress are more innovative than

more secure departments. According to Miller, and Leslie and Miller (1974), the results of Schumpeter's combined strategies is eventual recovery and a pattern of growth over the long run.

To date, the nature of change in higher education has not been established with certainty. Strong arguments support both conservative response patterns and proactive, domain creating strategies. This study examines the ways that a subset of the higher education enterprise, graduate humanities departments, respond when confronted with severe stress.

Methodology

The structure of this study was based on a framework proposed by Webster (1980). According to Webster, universities may respond to the oversupply of PhDs in five ways: (a) doing little or nothing, (b) limiting the number of PhDs produced, (c) changing faculty personnel policies to open new teaching positions, (d) revising PhD programs, and (e) finding new employment opportunities for PhDs. When these categories are placed sequentially on a continuum, they form a pattern identical to the one described above. On one end are the most conservative responses, doing little or at most reallocating resources in an attempt to meet traditional goals more efficiently. On the other end are responses that change the nature of the enterprise itself, either by creating new academic programs or by introducing graduate placement services. Because Webster's framework effectively applies the strategic response continuum in the context of the doctoral

oversupply problem, the responses of humanities departments were classified and analyzed in terms of these categories.

To obtain a representative cross-section of graduate humanities departments, a stratified random sample was drawn from the 344 doctoral-granting departments of English, history, and philosophy listed in the Graduate Programs and Admissions Manual: 1981-1983. With a bound on the error of the estimate set at .075, and stratifying the sample proportionately among the three disciplines, the final sample consisted of 32 departments of English, 32 departments of history, and 22 of philosophy. These disciplines were chosen because they represented 52 percent of the humanities doctorates granted (National Research Council, 1981, p. 27), and because they are present in a wide range of institutions.

A structured telephone interview was conducted with a single representative from each of the departments, usually a department head, an assistant department head, or the chair of a graduate studies committee. These people were initially asked in an open-ended question what they thought should be done about the graduate surplus, and then they were asked 19 questions concerning actual changes in their departments since 1978. For purposes of analysis, the responses were classified according to Webster's categories, cross-tabulated with departmental placement rates, and analyzed using discriminant and cluster analyses to clarify relationships among the variables.

Findings

Almost invariably, the first feelings expressed by respondents were an overwhelming concern about the continuing surplus of PhDs, and a sincere desire to remedy the situation. When asked what should be done about the surplus, three quarters of the respondents identified possible change strategies. In addition, each of the nineteen specific change alternatives studied was actually being implemented in eight or more of the departments studied. The sheer number of organizational adaptations identified suggests that higher education may be more responsive than the literature seems to indicate. In fact, although the theory of "natural selection" cannot be wholly dismissed as long as organizational units cease to exist--and two departments in the study were in the process of phasing out their doctoral programs--the weight of the evidence does not support this theory of organizational change.

When asked what they thought should be done about the oversupply of PhDs, the preferred responses seemed to be of the conservative, cut-back variety. Over half of the survey respondents said that the number of graduating doctoral students should be diminished, either by limiting the number of students admitted to study, by eliminating redundant or low-quality programs, or through various other means.

Actual departmental changes in the last five years corroborate the popularity of the conservative approach. Half of the departments studied have acted to limit the number of

candidates admitted to their doctoral programs. They have accomplished this by warning potential candidates about the job situation, by setting strict quotas, by implementing more stringent admissions requirements such as requiring minimum test scores, or simply by more closely scrutinizing candidates for admission. In addition, nearly one third of the departments studied have taken actions to make completion of the degree more difficult: some by increasing requirements, others by raising graduation standards.

The interviewees acknowledged that the number of PhDs entering the labor force had been reduced by other factors, including increased tuition, a reduction in student aid, and an increase in the time graduate students spend in completing their degrees. However, the responses showed that faculty can do little to impact either tuition or the availability of scholarship awards. Similarly, although one might guess that students take longer to complete their degrees because of the increased demands placed on them by faculty, the respondents in this study conjectured that students take longer because they are older, work part-time, more often pursue double degrees, or write longer dissertations.

Webster's third category, changing faculty personnel policies to create academic openings, seems to constitute an important change in the structure of academic organizations. Seventy-three percent of the 86 interviewees indicated that tenure was more difficult to achieve in their departments because of heightened standards, closer scrutiny of candidates, or new policies such as the "Yale Plan" or the "folding chair plan" (rolling contracts

renewable every three years). More liberal early retirement programs also were provided in almost half of the departments studied, and 15 departments claimed new postdoctoral positions. In 10 of these latter departments, the department simply hired its own graduates to one-year positions to give them additional time to find employment. In the other five departments, more innovative approaches were used to create academic openings. Examples are a history department which created two postdoctoral positions for new graduates to do editorial and curriculum development work, an English department which adopted a postdoctoral exchange program with a neighboring university, and a philosophy department with a new postdoctoral position in applied ethics.

While all of these changes have undoubtedly stimulated activity in the faculty labor market, the major stimulus behind tenure and early retirement decisions does not seem to lie within the departmental structure. Although it may be possible for a department to use its budget to "buy out" senior faculty members or otherwise encourage them to retire early, all changes related to early retirement identified in the study originated at the institutional or state level. Furthermore, tightening tenure standards was not seen as a remedy for the PhD labor market imbalance. This alternative was not mentioned by a single respondent as a preferred remedy for the surplus, and this variable did not cluster with the other changes in faculty personnel policies when a cluster analysis was performed on recent institutional responses. Accordingly, new postdoctorate positions

are the only innovation from Webster's third category that can be clearly considered a major departmental response to the PhD surplus.

Webster's fourth category, creating new academic programs to better prepare PhDs for careers, was mentioned by 16 of the respondents as a preferred way to deal with doctoral unemployment, and those who supported this alternative showed marked enthusiasm. They did not seem resigned to the inevitablity of either enrollment declines or the unemployment of PhDs. Instead, they actively and enthusiastically advocated new programs that might give their departments a competitive advantage in marketing their graduates.

Some of the interviewees had been involved with actual program changes in the last five years, including a small number of completely redesigned doctoral majors. For example, an English department has expanded its PhD program to include three distinct tracks: a traditional PhD program with a concentration in literature, a PhD program with a concentration in applied linguistics and a minor in literature, and a PhD in English with a concentration in composition and rhetoric and a minor in literature. The latter two programs are designed primarily to prepare teaching specialists, but an effort is currently under way to expand the business writing component of the composition and rhetoric program. Clearly, the movement in this department is away from the traditional PhD.

Two history department representatives offered examples of innovative PhD programs. One graduate studies director reported that his department offered a PhD in public history. The

interviewee speculated that this program, and a large percentage of nontraditional students, accounted for an increasing departmental enrollment over the last eight years.

A second history department representative described a program in social policy history. The degree, technically a Ph. D. in American history, requires a three-year program of study, including an internship and dissertation. According to a departmental brochure, the aim of the program is to blend "contemporary research methods and traditional historical skills." The focus is clearly career oriented, training administrators "who will have not only the competence to gain satisfying employment and advancement, but also a perspective that will promote a more effective system of social policy making." This program, like the degree in public history mentioned above, was designed specifically for application outside of higher education.

Whereas new doctoral majors found few advocates among the respondents, new career-oriented minors, cognate fields, or coursework often were encouraged. New minors had been adopted in about one fourth of the departments surveyed, and about half offered professional courses. In addition, many departments encouraged their students to study other, sometimes unrelated fields such as computer science and law.

Most of the new courses mentioned were related to business or professional study, but other combinations also were introduced. New courses such as the History and Philosophy of Sciences or the History of Science and Technology, offered through new

interdisciplinary centers, are evidently newly-formed links between the humanities and the sciences. Thus, some very distinct disciplines are being wedded through interdisciplinary study.

Another recent programmatic innovation is the short program designed to supplement traditional humanistic study with just enough preparation to allow PhDs to find work in business or government. Five of the departments in this study reported that "Careers in Business" short programs were available to their students or graduates.[1] These are perhaps the most widely publicized of the short programs, but there are others, including two sequences of archival administration in history departments, a certificate of writing program in an English department, and a summer institute in linguistics to help philosophy students learn to translate the Bible.

The final major program change identified involved the development of internships in business or government. New internships have been arranged for graduate students in 16 of the departments studied. Among history students, the most common internships are in museums or historical societies. English students are usually placed in businesses, and the philosophy students who find internships usually find themselves working in government offices. Perhaps surprising to many, even the most conservative departments seem to be enthusiastic about student internships. Placing a student as an intern is usually considered a departmental success.

Interview responses make it clear that innovations in academic programs are by no means on the wane. One fourth of the survey respondents indicated that future changes were planned in their departments, and these changes demonstrated three distinct directions among the three disciplines. History departments seemed most concerned with preparing their graduates for placement outside of academe. Aside from the innovations already in place, various history departments had planned six new doctoral minors in public history or historic preservation. Additional plans included a Careers in Business program and a history/journalism joint degree program.

For the last five years, alternative programs in English departments have emphasized the preparation of two-year college and preparatory school teachers. Teaching majors, minors, and course work in pedagogy were far more prevalent in English departments than in history or philosophy. Yet, the new programs in English have a distinct thrust away from academic employment. Most internships for English students are in business, and planned changes in English programs include more internships, strengthened writing segments, and counseling programs to advise students about nonacademic employment. Finally, philosophy departments are attempting to form relationships with other academic fields such as law, business, medicine, and journalism in order to bolster the employability of their graduates.

Webster's fifth category involves attempts to influence directly the placement of new PhDs through activities similar to

those of placement services. When departmental representatives were questioned regarding the means they used to bring students together with potential employers, 73 percent indicated that career guidance was an important and growing responsibility of the department. Some said that they were simply more assertive in placement--they tried to "sell" their graduates. Others engaged in practices usually associated with university placement offices. They held mock interviews with job candidates, sponsored career seminars, provided help with personal vitae, provided secretarial support, and maintained records on job candidates. Still others had expanded their efforts to include nonacademic placement, often by seeking internships or other contacts with nonacademic employers.

Distinct organizational changes have supported this new emphasis. Half of the departments studied had recently designated a faculty member to take charge of graduate placement. Half of these carried titles that reflected the single purpose of the function--titles such as Placement Officer, Director of Placement, or Chair of the Placement Committee. In the remaining cases, respondents indicated that traditional positions such as the Graduate Studies Chair had acquired placement as a specifically defined duty. Additionally, 22 of the departments studied indicated that they had recently established or enhanced a departmental "career library," defined as "a specific place within the department reserved for career-related materials." Finally, some departments boasted fully developed placement services. For

example, one philosophy department concentrated on placement to such a degree that it placed strict requirements on its students' studies, helped students with their dossiers and then maintained extensive records of students' credentials, required a practice presentation by students before a committee, and subjected students to mock interviews.

When these new placement activities are considered in conjunction with the other changes already cited, humanities departments do not seem as static as their reputation suggests. Although most departmental representatives supported the conventional wisdom that the best remedy for the oversupply of PhDs was to limit output, many departments are experimenting with ways to find jobs for their graduates, or even to increase their enrollments. Departments have responded in a variety of ways, and there is every indication that they will continue to innovate as long as the PhD surplus remains a problem.

Change Strategies and Graduate Placement

Of course the goal of all of these strategies is to enhance the placement rates of PhDs, but some strategies have had greater success than others. Figure 1 shows the relationship between individual change alternatives (excluding Webster's first category: "doing nothing") and the employment of departmental graduates. the nineteen specific change alternatives were cross-tabulated with high and low rates of both academic and total employment. A "+" indicates a favorable relationship. For example, a "+" in a "HIGH"

column indicates that more departments practicing that change strategy enjoy a high level of graduate placement than those departments that do not practice the strategy. A "+" in a "LOW" column indicates that fewer departments practicing the strategy have low placement records.[2] A "-" indicates the reverse of a "+," and a "0" indicates that practicing the change alternative seems to be unrelated to the level of graduate placement. As an example, the availability of new postdoctorate positions is not related to high placement in academia, and a greater percentage of departments with new postdoctorate positions have low academic placement rates. The relationship with total employment is much more favorable. New postdoctorate positions are positively related to high employment rates, and fewer of these departments have low placement rates.

Insert Figure 1 about here.

As the diagram shows, the employment rates of doctoral graduates seem to be related to Webster's strategic change alternatives. Strategies to cut back the number of doctorates entering the labor force are generally negatively related to placement rates, as are changes in faculty personnel policies. Academic program changes are related in a moderately positive way to the employment of graduates, and direct placement activities may help avoid low placement rates more than they contribute to high rates of employment.

The overriding strategies of English departments (preparing graduates to teach in two-year colleges and high schools) and of history departments (preparing graduates to work outside of academe) are showing some signs of success. Academic placement rates for recent English graduates are high, and although the academic placement rate for history graduates is low, the total employment of history graduates is almost equal to that of English graduates. Results for philosophy graduates fell between those of English and history in both academic and total employment.

These findings carry some important implications for academic planners. For example, even though Webster's first two change categories undoubtedly affect positively the entire labor market for graduates, cutback strategies and changes in faculty personnel policies are negatively related to the placement of graduates from individual departments. On the other hand, Webster's other two categories show considerable promise. Departmental administrators would seem to have the greatest chance of improving the employability of their graduates if they create employment-related academic programs or provide direct placement services.

Figure 1 also suggests that strategic changes by departments are more strongly related to total employment rates than to academic employment rates. This is not surprising given the absolute lid on opportunities for academic employment, but it further reinforces the idea that departments searching for ways to employ their graduates would be better off making contacts outside of academia, rather than trying to find ways to be more competitive

in the academic marketplace. Some history departments have enjoyed considerable success by employing this strategy. Perhaps other departments can effectively follow suit.

Conclusion

The results of this study lend support to the contention that the change strategies preferred by humanities departments are conservative ones. Most PhD-granting humanities departments have responded to the PhD surplus by trimming enrollments. They hope to weed out the weakest students, maintain or enhance quality, and by that means gain a competitive advantage in the traditional academic marketplace.

Although that hope is popular, it may be misguided. The departments that suddenly became more selective in admissions or more rigorous in their programs have not, as yet, emerged as winners in the struggle to place graduates. On the other hand, a number of success stories can be found among the departments that have taken the greater risk of changing the nature of their graduate programs. These departments have doffed the "enclave" image in favor of forms more compatible with the marketplace. For now, these organizations provide the most viable model for departments that continue to suffer from low doctoral placement rates.

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Footnotes

[1]Four of these programs have since been abandoned.

[2]For this study, high academic employment rates were considered to be the placement of over 80% of doctoral graduates in colleges and universities within the first year after graduation. Placing fewer than 60% of recent graduates was considered to be a low academic placement rate. High total employment was considered to be greater than a 90% placement rate, and low total employment was less than an 80 percent placement rate.

Figure Caption

Figure 1. The Relationship of Change Alternatives to the Employment of Doctoral Graduates.

Legend

ADM	Increased difficulty in gaining admission.
COMP	Increased difficulty in completing the degree.
TIME	Students take more time to complete the degree.
REQ	More formal requirements are necessary for degree completion.
TUIT	Tuition increases have prevented potential students from entering the doctoral program.
GRAD	Financial aid is less available.
TEN	Tenure is more difficult to attain.
RET	Early retirement programs are more available, more liberal.
POST	Postdoctorate positions are more available.
MAJ	Professional doctorates are more available.
MIN	Professional doctoral minors are more available.
COURSE	Professional courses are more available for doctoral students.
2 YR	Preparation for teaching in two-year colleges is more available.
IDISC	Interdisciplinary doctoral studies are more available.
INTERN	Internships in business or government are more available to doctoral students.
SHORT	Short programs in professional areas are more available.
LIB	Career library available.
GUID	Career guidance is more available.
PERSON	A faculty member has been assigned placement duties.

Webster Category	Change Alternative	ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT		TOTAL EMPLOYMENT	
		HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW
2	ADM	-	-	-	-
	COMP	-	0	0	-
	TIME	+	+	+	+
	REQ	-	+	-	+
	TUIT	-	-	0	0
	GRAD	-	-	+	0
3	TEN	-	-	-	0
	RET	-	-	-	0
	POST	0	-	+	+
4	MAJ	+	+	+	-
	MIN	-	-	+	+
	COURSE	0	-	-	+
	2 YR	+	+	+	0
	IDISC	+	+	+	+
	INTERN	-	-	-	-
	SHORT	-	-	-	+
	FUTURE	+	+	+	+
5	LIB	+	+	-	+
	GUID	+	+	-	-
	PERSON	-	+	-	+

Key: "+" = positive effect--variable positively related to high employment, negatively related to low employment levels.
"-" = negative effect--variable negatively related to high employment, positively related to low employment levels.
"0" = negligible effect.